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Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B.A.

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The **Hindu Message** stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

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A Vision Of India.

THULASI—II.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

Both morn and eve the maidens round thee go
With chiming anklets and with bracelets bright
Which charm with lustre our enraptured sight
And kindles in our hearts devotion's glow.
They watch thy dark-green leaves in beauty grow
Upon a platform open to the light
And dreaming through the fragrant moonlit night
What time the gentle southern breezes blow.
A kunkum spot like ruby on it burns;
A tiny lamp its blessed base illumes;
Thy form doth gladden all the hearts and eyes.
My heart from thee a heavenly message learns.
A deeper calmness in its kingdom blooms
And brings sweet hints of holy paradise.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 17, JULY 1919.

India and Economic Reconstruction—IV.

The war has largely revolutionised the character of British policy ; but in nothing has this revolution been so complete as in regard to economic and industrial matters. In the first place the marvellous successes of the operations of the enemy during the earlier months, indeed, for the earlier years of the struggle revealed the close connection that German national industries, specially the chemical researches originally started for obvious industrial objects, had with the manufacture of munitions of war. Great Britain had therefore to initiate similar researches both at home and in her dependencies, particularly in India, with a view to organise improved methods of the production of munitions and other necessaries of the army and the navy, on the one hand ; and, on the other, to acquire and temporarily "nationalise," so to say, many of the great industrial plants owned by private capitalists, for the purposes of making munitions. Practically, therefore, the entire industrial organisation of the country was temporarily converted into a huge department of the State. This was, though forced by the necessity of the war situation, a very valuable experiment of very far-reaching consequences in a new form of State-Socialism beyond the imagination of the most ardent Socialist.

The war did another thing also. The scarcity of food due to the stoppage of the Continental trade of Great Britain, necessitated the organisation of measure for the exercise of food economy on the one hand, and the production of food products in the country under direct State control. The authors of the "Elements of Reconstruction" from which I have already drawn largely to show the trend and nature of the new Imperial economic ideal and policy, have prominently noticed this new development :

It is not one of the least of the compensations for this war that it has necessitated experiments upon an otherwise impossible scale in the handling and rationing of the people's food and drink, and upon the conversion of private into quasi-public businesses. There has been haste and no doubt there has been waste and a considerable variety of incidental inaccuracies and abuses, favouritism, jobbery, the wrong man in this place and the crooked man in that, but on the whole this series of improvised "nationalisations" is full of suggestion and encouragement for the more deliberate and permanent readjustments that must be made after the war. The most striking demonstration has been of the practicability of the State coming as the food buyer and distributor, and of the great possibilities of control and participation that this opens out to us, first, of the already very extensively syndicated popular provision trade of the country, and secondly, of the cultivator. The State can step in here with a minimum of social disturbance. It need expropriate nobody, it need confiscate nothing, it leaves the landlord his acres, the farmer his farm, the wholesaler his ware-house, and the retailer his shop, but on the one hand it can insist upon certain standards of quality, wholesomeness and cheapness, and on the other certain standards of cultivation. The great advantage of the quasi-public big business is that the profit the State partner seeks is not a dividend but the public welfare. It can afford to buy even at a loss a crop which is socially beneficial, it can afford to

sell even at a loss a product which is wholesome or socially stimulating. Its aim is a highly cultivated country and a well-fed, energetic population. Big business, and particularly State business, means wide views and distant ends, and they are attainable in no other way.

There are others also whose views on these subjects have been more or less revolutionised by the experiences of the war. Among these Sir Chiozza Money, at one time regarded as a great authority on economic matters among advanced British Liberals may be counted. He published a scheme in 1916 which practically supports the new economic policy advocated by the authors of the "Elements of Reconstruction"; and has been approvingly cited by them. Sir Chiozza Money's scheme proposes, roughly speaking, that the "State by co-ordinating the present wholesalers and distributing agencies, should buy all the food in the country and hand it to retailers. It would buy first the national produce, and this it would buy with a view to developing the highest and most beneficial forms of cultivation. It would then supplement this supply by buying through the Colonial Governments and importing the Colonial output. Finally it would, if necessary, complete its needs by buying in the cheapest foreign market. It would, of course, buy at three price levels, and it would in effect subsidise the home grower, who would have as his encouragement not a protective tariff but a bonus price. And the cost of this encouragement would fall not upon the poorer sort of consumer, as a tariff would do, but upon the general community, which would be profiting by the security and prosperity of agriculture and by the increased national safety to which a well-maintained agriculture conduces.

All these things have very important bearings upon our own economic future. Like the Government of the United Kingdom the Government of India also had to organise whatever industries we had in the country, for war purposes; and a Munitions Board with Sir Thomas Holland as President, and some leading British merchants in the country as members, was formed here. In their attempt to organise munition-making here, Sir T. Holland's Board had to make a very careful survey of our natural resources, both agricultural and mineral. The experiences thus gained will be bound to be of very great value in the coming economic reconstruction of the Empire. All this will be bound to be utilised very largely for the new economic exploitation which will have to be undertaken first for the revival of British and Empire trade which had been woefully disorganised by the war; and second, for meeting the heavy financial obligations which the last five years of war have placed upon the British nation; and thirdly, for devising means for the exclusion of the erstwhile enemies of the Empire from the Empire-markets. Though President Wilson had declared that there must be no after-war economic war upon the German people or their allies in the last war the general trend of British and Imperial opinion on this subject, has as yet held out no manner of hope whatsoever that the European Allies of Dr. Wilson will readily accept at least this one of his historic Fourteen Points.

In the next place, as in the United Kingdom so also here in India, our Government had to organise to some

extent measures of food and cloth control. This has so far been done only in the matter of distribution, and specially in regard to price. But attempts have already been made to take stock of both food and clothes stored in the country; and more particularly in the regulation of imports and exports. All this, however, has worked, it seems, somewhat differently from what happened in the United Kingdom. This official "control" has not, in any case, helped to reduce the price either of food or clothing to the poor people. All that has practically happened is the entrance of the Government in the field of private commercial enterprise, now as "controller"; and it may gradually lead to the introduction of the principle of profit-sharing partnership between the Government in India and foreign and possibly even indigenous capitalist exploiters. And it is just this which we all must carefully mark, note and inwardly digest.

And it should also be noted that the principal recommendations of the Industrial Commission also seem to clear the way for this new economic exploitation. Sir Sankaran Nair has fully grasped the significance of these recommendations and has noted them in his Note of Dissent from the Government of India's Despatch on the Reforms proposals dated March 5, 1919:

> We know (says Sir Sankaran) now that there are Trade Commissioners whose business it is to find out the natural resources and facilities for trade—English trade in particular—that exist in the country. The results of their observations are to be made the basis of expert advice as to the best mode of utilising those resources in the interests of English trade. It is true that the information would be equally available to the Indian public, but we know that it is the commercial organisations in England that would be able to utilize them.

Hitherto, the Government in India pursued the policy of *laissez faire* following the dominant political and economic philosophy of the British nation from the second half of the last century, and did not directly engage itself in any large measure of State socialism, especially in the matter of our industries. All that it did was to offer protection to foreign exploiters and in special circumstances give them facilities through the administration of land-laws and rail-road construction and the granting or securing mining leases that have always been subject to the sanction of the Government of India; and, in the case of the Assam tea industry by especially favourable labour laws. A good deal of this was, however, left more to the discretion of local officials whose social relations with the European trading and mercantile community offered peculiar facilities to the latter to expolit these relations for their personal profits in connection with their business enterprise.

It was Lord Curzon who for the first time realised the supreme value of this British capitalist exploitation to the British Indian Empire; and his Lordship openly declared the intimate and organic relation that exists or ought to exist, between administration and exploitation in this country. Addressing the leaders of the coal-mining industry in Chotanagpur, assembled at Jheria Lord Curzon declared that administration and exploitation were parts of the same duty in the Government of India. I have not his exact words just now before me, but his Lordship gave expression

to similar ideas in his address to the tea planters of Silchar, which has been preserved in his published Indian speeches, published with an introduction by Sir Thomas Raliegh, Legal Member of the Government of India during Lord Curzon's administration, in course of which he said :—

I look upon all Englishmen in this country (and if any Scotchmen or Irishmen are present, pray do not let them think that I am excluding them) as engaged in different branches of the same great undertaking. Here we are all fellow-countrymen, comrades, and friends. The fact that some of us earn our livelihood or discharge our duty by the work of administration, and others by cultivating the resources of the soil, does not differentiate us one from the other. These are merely the subdivisions of labour. They are not distinctions of object, or purpose, or aim.

Further on he said that he maintained that it is a part of the duty of the Government in India "to hold out the hand of friendship to industrial or commercial enterprises, to endeavour, by careful study, to understand its conditions, and to secure its loyal co-operation." This was the motive of the establishment of the new Department of Commerce and Industry in 1905, with a special and high-paid officer to work it.

The object of this new Department was the acquisition and dissemination of industrial information, the introduction of new and the stimulation of existing industries. For this purpose provincial Directors of Industries were appointed, who were advised by a board of officials and business men; and with their help and of a competent staff of experts, the Directors were to "pioneer new industries and to experiment in improved methods and domonstrate their application to certain existing industries on a commercial scale."

This new policy, initiated by Lord Curzon, received however scant support from the Liberal Government in London when they came to power soon after his Lordship's retirement from India ; and the "essential feature of experiment and domonstration by Government agency on a commercial scale" entirely failed to secure the approval of the new Secretary of State for India. Lord Morley declared that the "results of the attempts to create new industries were not of a character to remove his doubts as to the utility of State effort in this direction, unless it were strictly limited to industrial instruction and avoided the semblance of a commercial value." The office of the Director of Industries was however retained, but Lord Crewe who succeeded Lord Morley as Indian Secretary, defined his duties as follows (Report Industrial Commission, p 79.)

1. to collect information as to existing industries, their needs and the possibility of improving them or of introducing new industries ;

2. to carry out and direct experiments connected with such enquiries :

3. to keep in touch with local manufacturers, to bring the results of his experiments to their notice and to obtain their co-operation in the conduct of operations on a commercial scale ;

4. to supervise the training of students ; and

5. to advise Government with regard to technical matters involving legislation.

"Even after Lord Crewe's despatch," continues the Report, "the Government of India seemed to be in doubt as to how far they would be justified in sanctioning proposals for demonstration plants, financial assistance and other forms of direct aid to industries. Their desire to move in these matters,

which had not so far reached the stage of active fulfilment, had received a decided set-back. The difficulties were increased by the fact that they had neither the organisation nor the equipment to give effect even to the comparatively limited policy sanctioned by Lord Morley. It was not however, till some time after the outbreak of war that they resolved to examine the question in a comprehensive way, and to that end appointed our Commission."

This Commission has recommended a closer and more organic association of Government with the industrial and commercial development of the country than in the past. With this end in view it has recommended, among other things, the organisation of an Indian Chemical Service, which will entirely devote itself to the pursuit of research in the domain of industrial chemistry or chemical industries. The results of all research work, either by the Chemical or any other scientific department connected with the Government Department of Commerce and Industry, should be regarded as the property of the Government; and the decision of the expediency of publishing these must rest with the "controlling authorities." But care should be taken that this in no way precludes the confidential communication of any such results that may not be published for general information to "persons who may be interested in it, or who may be in a position to make use of it advantageously." The Commission further recommend that the Government Department of Scientific Research in relation to industry, should always be ready to help "pioneer industries or existing industries undertaken under new conditions" free of all charges; and these industries should be able also to "have research work taken up on their behalf in Government laboratories, without charge."

Another important recommendation of the Commission is in regard to the acquisition of land for industrial undertakings. Para 199 of the Report discusses the present situation in this matter, and may be profitably quoted here :—

"Many witnesses, representing both large and small interests, complained of the handicap imposed on industrial enterprise by difficulties in obtaining land for the sites of factories and other industrial concerns, and the surface rights of mines, in cases where mineral rights are not the property of Government. These difficulties are said to lie, first, in the trouble experienced in obtaining a good title, in view of the complicated system under which land is held in certain parts of the country, especially in Bengal, and in the absence in some provinces of an authentic record of rights; second, in provincial laws, designed to prevent the expropriatiou of tenant interests; and last, in the attitude of landholders, who are too apt to exploit unduly the necessities of an industrialist whose choice of the site for a new venture is limited by considerations of transport, water supply, etc., while he is still more fettered when he desires to extend an existing factory. There are also often cases where the land required belongs to a large number of small owners, and when any one of these declines to sell, his refusal may render the consent of the rest useless. We have also received complaints regarding the obstinate and dilatory attitude often taken up by landholders in negotiating transfers."

This matter was carefully considered, we are told, by the Bombay Advisory Committee, who suggested the following formula as a guide to Local Governments in the exercise of their discretion on behalf of an industrial concern :

When such acquisition is indispensable to the development of the industry, and......

the development of the industry itself is in the interests of the general public.

Sir T. Holland's Commission recommend that this formula may be accepted with the following modifications—

"The Local Government may acquire land compulsorily from private owners on behalf of an industrial concern, when it is satisfied—

(1) that the industry itself will, on reaching a certain stage of development, be in the interest of the general public;

(2) that there are no reasonable prospects of the industry reaching such a stage of development without the acquisition proposed;

(3) that the proposed acquisition entails as little inconvenience to private rights as is possible, consistently with meeting the needs of the industry. In this connection we wish to draw particular attention to the desirability of avoiding, as far as possible, the acquisition of areas largely covered by residential buildings.

Sir T. Holland's Commission add further that *when Government considers an industrial undertaking deserving of substantial assistance in other ways at the public expense, especially when it adopts such a course as an alternative to carrying on the industry itself, there seems no reason why land, when necessary, should not be acquired compulsorily.*

The italics are ours. This recommendation of the Indian Industrial Commission shows clearly the trends of the coming industrial and economic policy of the Government of India, which must, we think, to be correctly appreciated, be read along with the bolder and more unreserved, because un-official, statement of the authors of the "Elements of Reconstruction" to which pointed attention has been repeatedly drawn in this series.

Chapter XIV of the Report of the Industrial Commission is of special importance in this connection. It deals with a form of State Socialism which has a very strange affinity with the new form of it suggested in the "Elements of Reconstruction." This chapter indicates "in somewhat greater detail *the special necessity which exists in India for direct Government participation in the initiation and improvement of industries*..." In Para 212, the Report deals with "Industries of national importance" in this connection, which says:

In our chapter on the industrial deficiencies of India, (Ch. IV) we have given some account of the work which will have to be done to place India on a firm basis of economic self-sufficiency and of self-defence; and it is clear that, from this point of view, there are strong arguments for a policy of direct Government assistance in respect of essential new industries.

We contemplate that only in exceptional circumstances will Government itself carry on industrial operations on a commercial scale; but it is necessary to establish and maintain Government factories for the manufacture of lethal munitions, and to exercise some degree of control over private factories upon which dependence will be placed for the supply of military necessities.

This, in most cases, could be obtained in return for guarantees to take over a definite proportion of the output, and should be exercised only to ensure that adequate provision is made to meet the prospective demands of the country in times of war.

But the partnership of the State with private industrial enterprises will not be confined, if the recommendations of the Commissions are accepted, only to this particular class of industry with which the Government Military Stores and Munitions Departments

may be intimately related. For the Commissioners say:

Besides industries essential to the safety of the country in time of war, we have mentioned others which will be of considerable economic importance and add to the industrial strength of the country in peace time.

And while the actual inception of these undertakings will usually be a matter for private enterprise, and the necessary assistance in regard to these may be given by the Provincial Department of Industries, "they will sometimes be of such importance to the country generally, and require employment by Government of so costly and specialised an agency to work out the preliminary data, that it will be beyond the scope of any Local Government to do all that is needed." And in these cases the Imperial Government must come to the assistance of private enterprise.

The Industrial Commission has not gone the length of suggesting that in the matter of these industries of national importance, as they call them, the State should enter into any profit-sharing partnership with them; but it may be noted that they do imagine "instances," where the "conditions may be such that the expense of production will always exceed the cost at which articles of similar quality can be imported, and in such cases the industry can only be maintained by the grant of direct financial assistance or by the indirect operation of protective duties; but in either case, the burden will really fall upon the Indian tax-payer.

We have no desire to discuss the recommendations of the Industrial Commission in this series; and if we have at all referred to some of these, it is only to indicate that there is a suspicious family-likeness between the economic policy of the dominant school of present-day British Imperialism, as represented by the *Times* and Lord Milner, and the policy indicated in the Report of our Industrial Commission. And this fact should be borne in mind by every Indian politician and economist seeking to solve the problem of our economic reconstruction.

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Notes and Comments.

A writer in one of the British Reviews makes a distinction—and wisely—between "acquisitive" and "functional" societies. The former exist only for the acquisition of wealth; and all modern societies are of this kind. They recognise no limitations to the operation of this motive, and call on all their citizens to devote their energies to the acquisition of wealth and power for the individual and the community to which they belong. None feels the call to discriminate between the different sources of wealth or the various kinds of human activity, for the simple reason that all kinds of weath or activity stand on the same level of worth in their estimation. Every one is invited only to seek for opportunities of gain, and none cares for, or recognises, the calls and restraints of ethical duty or the obligation to fulfil the mandates of a higher power possessing a supernatural sanction. Acquisitive societies also mercilessly exploit the resources of all weaker communities and recognise no moral obligations and responsibilities towards them. The state and society are organised on the principle of militancy and care only for the opportunities of making easy gains and driving hard bargains in all their dealings.

***

If we turn to India, we find that, from the earliest period of our history, society has been based on the principle and criterion of *Function*. Ours is what has been called a Functional Society,—*i. e.*, its

intent and aim has been to promote the service of God and man,—to impose limitations on the kinds of labour and of gain on which men can set their hearts in order that they may grow in their higher nature so as to attain to that spiritual peace and perfection which leads to the realisation of the Atman which alone is the One Blissful Existence beyond all material worlds and bodies. Under the impulse to the acquisition and exploitation of wealth and to the active organisation of the institutions of state or society which promote national power and resources, communities in the West may inherit the whole earth or seize and control extensive tracts and regions of its surface, but they cannot gain Aryavarta's objective of the Atman,—they cannot go in for true wisdom or spiritual peace and freedom. These can only be gained by the acceptance of the limitations on purely material growth on which the Vedic seers and sages have ever set the highest value. It is the Indian Vedic practices of devotional and ceremonial religion that alone can restrain man from absorption in the pursuit of material aims and the infliction of misery in various forms on his fellow-men of other communities which purely worldly aims and ambitions induce him to undertake without compunction or scruple under the operation of the most powerful of all instincts—the instincts of acquisition and greed. India alone has solved the problem of raising a purely Functional Society which makes the discharge of ethical and social obligations its immediate aim, and the gaining thereby of the realisation of the Atman the ulterior purpose and objective of human life. India must not thoughtlessly abandon the essentials of her great social fabric and civilisation, but must strenuously strive to preserve them in order that she may ever fulfil her mission of being the *Karmabhumi* and *Punyabhumi* of the world.

***

We, Indians,—that is, those of us who have fallen under the spell of western ideals of material progress and strive to found a new India on the model of Western nationalities and empires—ought not to shut our eyes to the shady aspects of the "acquisitive" ideal of Western industrial society. Is not the power of Western communities, are not their resources, founded on the wicked basis of exploiting the weaker and unorganised communities of men? Let us by all means strive to win Home Rule, but let us aspire to build up our new Indian nationality upon a *Functional*—and not on an *Acquisitive*—basis. *Secondly*, industry in the West is not based on the ideal of service or function in society, but as a means to the acquisition, possession, and display of wealth, magnificence, and power. Men speak of the dignity of work, but those who rise to social rank and public esteem do not regard workmen and labourers as their equals, but as a kind of common people lower in rank and sordid in their modes of living,—as only redeemed by their work from falling into the proletariat class. There is nothing in the West like the idea of *Svadharma* in India, and this alone can raise man—men of all sorts engaged in industry—to a true sense of one's own dignity and importance in the machinery of society, of the true equality in worth of all kinds of economic work and activity. *Lastly*, Western society is ever disturbed by economic strife between capital and labour,—often amounting to a war of interests on a gigantic scale and leading to the breaking of countless heads and bones. In the present condition of Western industrialism, what one industrial group gains is another's loss. This is due to the prevailing ideal of merciless competition among all groups. The Indian ideal of Svadharma working under the social system of co-ordinated industrial compartments or castes has enabled Indian society to develop into an organism of which the several parts are linked together by the feeling of mutual need and co-operation into a harmonious whole. This is the true ideal of the system of Indian Varnasrama; and, if we have deteriorated or fallen from the ideal, the system itself as it stood in its ancient integrity and purity, is not at all to be blamed. It is only a society based on the idea of Function and the separation of functions among its various parts or classes that can enjoy social peace and harmony. In modern societies in the West, on the other hand,

men and classes are ever engaged in the sacred work of driving hard bargains against each other ; and all are bent upon making use of every possible advantage or opportunity to exploit those who are engaged in rival occupations or have conflicting interests. Such societies live and prosper simply because their energies are now largely spent in the exploiting of the unorganised communities of the world. But organisations of all kinds are now springing up everywhere, and it will be difficult to maintain the peace of the world if the nations do not strive to prevent the economic strife which is looming before all in the near future. The Western Communities will, we trust, see the wisdom of early abandoning their present national organisation for purposes of territorial acquisition and exploitation. They must organise themselves as purely Functional Societies, if they would avoid the fate of the modern Huns. They should also strive after the Indian objective of the spiritual realisation of the Atman, if they would bring peace and harmony of material interests to a world suffering from the present conflict of jarring economic and material ambitions and aggressions.

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures now being delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly .)

ADHYAYA III.

(Continued.)

न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नैष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते ।
न च संन्यसनादेव सिद्धिं समधिगच्छति ॥

Man does not enjoy self-poised freedom from action by abstention from action nor does he attain the realisation of wisdom by mere cessation from action.

Notes :

1. The Lord answers an unexpressed question by Arjuna as to why if the two paths—of work and of wisdom—are to be followed by men of two different types of attainment he should be directed to follow the path of action.

2. The plexus of tendencies and results known as Karma has to be unwound and cast off by the processes of selfless duty, devotion, concentration, and wisdom and cannot be overcome by mere quiescence and quietism. Mere quietism may bring about a state of inactivity of the senses but the impurity and sinfulness of the mind will increase by morbid thought about sense-contacts and sense-pleasures. It is not work that binds but it is motived work that binds. The *Isavasyopanishad* says.

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

3. It has been well said:

ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते पुंसां क्षयात्पापस्य कर्मणः ।
यथादर्शतलप्रख्ये पश्यत्यात्मानमात्मनि ॥
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो दत्त्वा नैष्कर्म्यमाचरेत् ।

4. Sri Ramanuja says thus in a beautiful sentence about this truth: अनभिसंहितफलैः कर्मभिरनाराधितगोविन्दैरविनष्टानादिकालप्रवृत्तानन्तपापसंचयैरव्याकुलेन्द्रियतापूर्विकात्मनिष्ठा दुःसंपादा ।

The same idea is tersely stated by Sri Sankara thus: कर्मारम्भस्यैव नैष्कर्म्योपायत्वात् ।

न हि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥

Verily no one can for even a moment rest without doing any action. For every one is driven to action irresistibly by the *Gunas* (qualities) inherent in Prakriti.

Notes :

1. The Prakriti Gunas drive us to action. Hence to attain self-poise and bliss by cessation from action is useless, for the cause viz., Prakriti Gunas remain unsubdued. We must overcome the cause to subdue the effect.

2. Sri Ramanuja points out that by past Karmas the satvic, rajasic, and tamasic element in us have been fed and are in full and vigorous operation and cannot be overcome by inaction but only by Dharmic Karma.

प्रकृतिसंभवैः सत्त्वरजस्तमोभिः प्राचीनकर्मानुगुणप्रवृद्धैः गुणैः ।

3. If mere inaction can procure salva-

tion then trees would be liberated souls. Sri Madhwa says well यदि कर्माकरणेन मुक्तिः स्यात् स्थावराणाम्

4. God-realisation leads to liberation and it cannot come till *Kurma* is vanquished by Dharma.

अतोऽवित्त्वा परं देवं मोक्षाशा का महामुने ।
निष्कामं ज्ञानपूर्वं तु निवृत्तमिति चोच्यते ।
निवृत्तं सेवमानस्तु ब्रह्माभ्येति सनातनम् ॥

The Bhagavata says:

कर्मभिः शुद्धसत्त्वस्य वैराग्यं जायते हृदि ।

कर्मेन्द्रियाणि संयम्य य आस्ते मनसा स्मरन् ।
इन्द्रियार्थान्विमूढात्मा मिथ्याचारः स उच्यते ॥

He who restraining well the organs of action sits contemplating in his mind the objects of the senses is of deluded understanding and is called a hypocrite.

NOTES :

1. The idea is well stated by Sri Venkatanatha thus: अतश्चित्तशुद्ध्यभावे केवलकर्मेन्द्रियनिग्रहमात्रस्यानर्थकरत्वान्न तद्रूपः संन्यासः ।

यस्त्विन्द्रियाणि मनसा नियम्यारभतेऽर्जुन ।
कर्मेन्द्रियैः कर्मयोगमसक्तः स विशिष्यते ॥

But O Arjuna, he who, controlling the senses by the mind, begins and performs karma yoga by the organs of action in a spirit of non-attachment excels (the impostor described above.)

NOTES:

1. The man who desires to dwell in an upper storey must build the basement and the first floor. Even so must the man yearning for the self-poise and bliss of Moksha do Nishkama karma.

नियतं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।
शरीरयात्रापि च ते न प्रसिद्ध्येदकर्मणः ॥

Perform thou the obligatory duties because action is superior to inaction. If thou art inactive even the preservation of thy body could not be achieved.

NOTES:

1. The Hindu view is that the body should be preserved in full vitality because it is through *Karma* that the soul mounts up devotion and wisdom which lead to self-liberation and self-realisation. Sri Ramanuja says well; यावत्साधनसमाप्ति शरीरधारणं चावश्यं कार्यम्

2. If work causes bondage, higher and purer work removes the bondages as one thorn removes another and both are thrown away.

यज्ञार्थात्कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबन्धनः ।
तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसङ्गः समाचर ॥ ९ ॥

The world is in the bondage of action which is other than action done for the sake of the lord. Therefore, O Kaunteya, do work for His sake and without attachment.

NOTES :

1. यज्ञ means The Lord here. It means also sacrifice. Sri Ramanuja says that only wealth got for Dharmic actions saves us through the Lord's grace यज्ञादिभिः कर्मभिराराधितः परमपुरुषोऽस्यानादिकालप्रवृत्ततद्वासनामुच्छिद्य अव्याकुलात्मावलोकने ददातीत्यर्थः ।

2. It has been well said also that right action is that which does not bind us. तत्कर्म यन्न बन्धाय It is also said कर्मणा बध्यते जन्तुः motived action hold us in the bondage of tendencies and results.

3. In sacrifice and worship, there is the predominant element of self-denial. This self-denial blossoms into self-realisation.

4. The Sruti says in a great passage: तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसानाशकेन ।

(To be continued.)

In Defence of Varnasrama-Dharma.

(continued.)

Another source of ill-will or complaint against Brahmins is the charge that they have monopolised Veda-adhyayana and prohibited it to Sudras. But they forget that, along with them, are coupled our women and our children till they reach the age of eight against whom we can have no enmity. Different Sadhanas are prescribed for differnt adhikaries, and these differences in Karma constitute the institution of Varnasrama-Dharma, and that is

Hinduism. Our first duty therefore is to maintain Varnasrama-Dharma, and that is the most efficient of all means to secure unity and co-operation. Varnasrama-Dharma is eternal and existed before all other religions. It has withstood all attacks and no ephemeral agitation can destroy it. Our Dharma has remained unchanged in essentials throughout the ages. It is the tapas of the Rishis, the greatness of the Isvaras and the grace of Paramesvara that have maintained our Dharma.

The existence of untouchables in Hindu society is another source of discontent in many quarters. Men forget that untouchableness is similar to pollution—a practice which is observed by Brahmins themselves towards each other in certain circumstances.

While elsewhere men divide themselves into classes from purely worldly considerations, here in India it is the ante-natal tendencies which constitute the Dharma of each individual and determine his status or caste in the Hindu social constitution. It is the supreme duty, therefore, of the follower of Varnasrama-Dharma to spread correct ideas regarding it and also put them into practice themselves. Some think that our Dharma could be changed to suit modern conditions. Dharma is eternal and unchangeable. All we can do is to concert measures to overcome the obstacle to the practical observance of Dharma in modern life. Spiritual progress consists in getting out of the bondage of samsara which again is the corruption of Manas by the controlled impulses of desire (Raga) and hatred (Dvesha). Varnasrama Dharma is the sole means to the attainment of this end. The bondage of the soul due to the deleterious effects of raga and dvesha is natural to all embodied existence. To remove this bondage we have to resort to another bondage, viz., that which produces its effects on the character of the jiva through the Shastraic restrictions for securing *trikaranasuddhi*, which, in short constitutes the Varnasrama-Dharma that has among us the free play of those impulses of raga and dvesha which every true Hindu must regret. Let us pray to Isvara to enable us to carry out into all the details of all the aspects of our life, individual and social, the dateless and deathless ideals of Varnasrama Dharma.

Notes by a Rambler.

It was magnanimous on the part of the Government of India to have ordered the release of "*certain* prisoners" *sentenced* for offences against the state or for *kindred* offences under other laws. The wording of the Press communique is rather vague and indefinite. It is sufficiently elastic to allow *carte blanche* to an unsympathetic bureaucracy to minimize the extent of the Royal or Vice-regal generosity so as to exclude all those political convicts obnoxious to it. It deserves to be noted that the convicts or those to be released should have been sentenced in a court of law. So hundreds of political suspects who have been interned under the Defence of India Act or the Deportation Regulations, would not be subjects of Royal clemency. Whereas various political associations have been crying themselves hoarse over the continued detention of persons politically interned, and have been demanding their release in commemoration of the termination of the war, the Government of India seem to have scrupulously avoided showing any clemency to the victims of the Defence of India Act and Deportation Regulations. Evidently when the Rowlatt Act comes into force on the 28th December 1919, such interned persons will be dealt with under its provisions.

* * *

The ex-Kaiser is to be on his trial in London, staying as an honoured guest in the historic Tower of the Metropolis; The wheels of fortune sometimes turn in aweful eccentricity. The great Imperial Kaiser at whose word prior to July 1914 the world seemed to nod, has now become the subject-matter of international extradition proceedings at the instance of 22 Governments. It would have been better in the interests of the traditional dignity of the Hohenzollern family if he had voluntarily launched himself into eternity, and slept on the cold marble in some graveyard in Berlin after his abdication. It is an irony of fate that one who had been sounding a tocsin of alarm to all European diplomats about the 'Yellow Peril,' a phrase which he is said to have invented or given currency to in political parlance, should

be tried by a tribunal containing a Yellow Japanese Judge. Apparently he does not seem to have been satiated with the charms and pleasures of life, but be clinging like a leech to the vanished phantom of glory with impossible or unrealizable hopes of regaining his lost throne. A tree should be judged by its fruits. He had inherited and lost a splendid and awe-inspiring empire from his father or grandfather, which had reached an abnormal pinnacle of glory during his regime. But his over-weening ambition carried him far beyond his depth; and he sank like the victims of his own submarines. His sons are piteously crying that their father's neck might be saved from the gallows or the guillotine. His own minister offers himself as a scape-goat for the sins of his imperious master. Perhaps like his great Napoleanic model, he wants to pass his days in inglorious inactivity in some St. Helena, waging daily conflicts with the Governor of the island appointed by the League of Nations.

***

The Publicity Board that is to be constituted by Lord Willingdon, no doubt with the best of intentions, is not likely to thrive or be a handy weapon for bureaucracy for explaining the acts or the policy of Government. If it confines its attentions to issue pamphlets and leaflets on such matters as sanitation, agriculture etc., it might be a useful body for dissemination of popular scientific knowledge. But when it trenches on current political problems, such as constitutional reform, the Rowlatt legislation, it would turn out an official bereau for publishing press communiques of the Government; or extracts from rabid foreign journals explaining the policy or measures of Government. The Government might as well pay subsidies to such journals to issue special editions of the paper dealing in such controversial questions. In all probability the recent non-official conference of Lord Willingdon with all its academic discussions will turn out to be a case of a mountain in labour. If its object was to create a non-official agency for checkmating the influence of nationalistic journals like the *Hindu* and *New India*, *Swadesamitran* and *Desabhaktan*, it is doomed to failure. If its object was to create a knowledge-Diffusion Agency on such matters as sanitation agriculture etc., the gubernatorial flourish of trumpets need not have been resorted to for such commendable purposes. It is a pity that some of the non-official gentlemen who attended the Conference, should not havecandidly advised our well-intentioned Governor about the futility of such bureaucratic devices to undermine the influence of national organs of public opinion.

***

The appointment of a Joint Committee of the Commons and the Lords on the Reform Bill may be regarded as a vote of censure on the labours of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in India. They visited important political centres, invited leading men of all sorts and conditions, received addresses and schemes of constitutional reform, discussed with them about the feasibility and utility of such schemes, and framed their Joint-Report after mature consideration for months. The Government of India and various local governments also sent their despatches on the reports. Mr. Montagu had to digest them all and finally brought in his Bill based on the Joint-Report, with the sanction of the Cabinet. It seems a cruel joke now to say that a new committee must be appointed to take evidence and discuss alternative schemes, and suggest its own scheme which might or might not be the same as the Montagu Scheme! It was a clever adroit move of the Sydenhamites to have shunted the reform car to a side-track for delaying the immediate passing of the Bill. It is no wonder that even Mr. Fisher, and Sir Donald Maclean warned against any delay by such a reference to a Joint-Committee, and Mr. Montagu reconciles himself to the new situation by appointing himself as a member of the Committee, so as to prevent his opponents from wrecking or whittling down his scheme. That is the true significance of the protests made for the inclusion of Mr. Montagu's name in the Committee.

Sandhya Upasana.

[By Radnus B. Divard.]

(continued.)

Dear readers, look at this picture and that and consider what makes this Brobdingnagian difference between the two. What made the ancient Hindus so great? The secret of their greatness lay in their scruplous observance of rigid self-control in all its details, They did not suffer themselves to be mastered by anything in

this world and tossed about here and there like a foot-ball. Even their daily routine of life carried with it a charm and magnanimity which finds no place at all in modern life.

The ancient Hindu got up before dawn with the name of sweet Hari on his lips. Natural calls occupied then a little of his time; this being over, he turned his steps towards a riverfull of crystal water, cleaned himself by a refreshing bath, performed ablutions and offered prayers with deep devotion and undivided attention. Then the worship of the sacrificial fire and the household diety kept him engaged for a short time. Next, he performed his Madhyanhika Sandhya and Brahma Yagnya in honour of the old Rishis and his departed fore-fathers and thus practically acknowledged his indebtedness to them. His kindness towards the lower animals of God's creation and the scum of the human society took concrete shape in his performance of Vaishvadeva and his anxiety for the welfare of mankind translated itself in his feeding of the guests (Atithis). He had no speeches to make on kindness to animals; brotherhood of man and the uplifting the country by means of associations and societies which always talked much and seldom acted accordingly. He helped the 'depressed classes' by regularly feeding them without the aid of 'Depressed Class Missions' and cosmopolitan dinners. Dinner being over, he took a little rest and then attended to other businesses till sunset. Then came evening Sandhya and his visit to the public temples. Next followed supper. Then he rested for a while and hummed the name of Shri Hari till innocent sleep placed the seal on his day's activities and left him free in the next morning for his daily pursuits. What a nice figure does the Modern Hindu cut when compared with his ancestor! He almost beats Kumbhakarna in respect of enjoying long sleep. The night time being quite insufficient for this purpose he does not hesitate to snatch a few hours in the morning also for enjoying the bliss in the form of sleep. He gets up early in the morning at about 8-30, or 9 o'clock and discharges the sweet duty of enshrining in the stomach that brisk beverage commonly known as tea and without which India will, no doubt, fly to pieces. Newspapers full of civilized forms of abuses and anything but sense keep him engaged for a while and this paper-reading ceremoney, it should be noted, answers well to the morning Sandhya vandanam! When India was used to be in her senses, one could hear in the morning melodious verses of the following type :—

प्रातः स्मरामि शरदिन्दुकरोज्ज्वलाभां
सद्रत्नवत्सकलकुण्डलहारभूषाम् ।
दिव्यायुधोर्जितसुनीलसहस्रहस्तां
रक्तोत्पलाभचरणां भवतीं परेशाम् ॥ १ ॥

But now-a-days sounds such as 'a double s ass, ass, ass,' 'f double o l fool, fool. fool,' 'Bob drinks brandy', 'Daniel rides on a donkey,' 'Earnest eats eleven eggs' are usually heard. I wonder if there is anything of consequence in the world except 'Earnest's eggs' and 'Daniel's Donkey'. Newspapers and journals full of news partly faked and partly having only a grain of truth command the greatest respect and a person who regularly wastes his time in reading them is marked out as a "well-educated and up-to-date man." Having done with the newspaper our modern 'gentleman' goes cigar in hand to the treasure house of filth, for the adoption of which Indians should be grateful to Western civic life, to empty himself of the questionable superfluities forced down the throat on the previous day. Then he cleans his teeth with some powder, prepared from unknown ingredients in unknown lands, and subjects them (the teeth) to the welcome ministrations of a fashionable brush made of hog's hair. Then he breaks his fast with foreign-made cakes and biscuits 'untouched by hand' and hot tea. After loitering here and there for a few minutes he hurriedly takes his bath in a whole bucketful of water, taking care to wash his body with some soap made of fat. Next comes dinner which is taken only sparingly owing to poor appetite caused by stuffing the stomach with biscuits &c. There being little time left for taking rest after dinner

he has to run to office with a speed natural only to a member of the great canine family with a view to avoid a deluge of choicest opprobrium from his superior officer. He remains tethered in the office till sunset and after leaving office comes home and takes tiffin. Then he goes to the tennis court or to some club, and after exercising his muscles in the most effiminate fashion betakes himself to the club table and does more than ample justice to the innumerable delicacies served up there. He then wends his way home late in the night, takes supper and sleeps.

It would appear, then, that modern life is meant only for eating and sleeping and making money at the sacrifice of health and ordinary comforts. Such a career cannot be expected to be conducive to happy results. The remedy, therefore, lies in following the foot-prints of great men who lived in the past in this holy land; but some of the staunchest advocates of modern civilization seem to entertain a fear that we would go back to barbarism if we fall back upon pure Hindu Culture. It would be worth while to see how far modern civilization has succeeded in making any wholesome effects on the people so as to deserve any special claims in preference to the Hindu civilization.

The greatest achievement of modern civilization, it must be admitted, is its conquest of time and distance resulting from its scientific inventions. It has also given peace and safety to the people. Education, if the term is to be taken to mean literacy, has no doubt advanced to an incredible extent. This is the bright side of modern civilization; but, it ought to be borne in mind, that there is a dark side as well. Railways and telegraphs and other kindred mechanical crafts while being of immense use in well-governed countries, can be proved to be evils in countries where the people have to bow to outside authority, as these very things are employed for purposes other than beneficial to the people. As regards peace and safety, one may ask, of what use is it to have an outward peace akin to that of a grave while the heart is in a state of constant ferment? An education which makes man callous, conceited, selfish and mean cannot long pretend to benefit the people and therefore cannot hold water. In short if modern civilization means an 'insatiable hunger for gold,' the rule of the machine as against that of man, the domination of falsehood and hypocracy in the name of policy and diplomacy and selfishness and egotism in the garb of nationality, and concentration of wealth in certain countries and abject poverty and acute suffering in others, then one should rather prefer to remain a 'barbarian' of the type that existed in ancient India. If barbarism means contentment, kindness and mercy, honesty and straight-forwardness, generosity and freedom, prosperity and plenty—if it means all these—then down with modern civilized barbarism! In fact, the notion that ancient Hindu civilization was tantamount to barbarism has no shadow of truth in it and deserves therefore to be mercilessly knocked on the head. It would be clear to any reasonable person that the downfall of India is directly attributable to the neglect of Vaidic Dharma.

What is Vaidic Dharma? Says Sri Sankaracharya in his preface to the Bhagavad Gita:—"The Dharma laid down by the Vedas is two fold viz,, the path of Pravritti (action) and the path of Nivritti (renunciation)." Dharma is defined by him as follows:—"That which keeps the world intact and that which brings about direct prosperity in this world and ultimately leads to complete liberation is Dharma. This Dharma is observed by the Brahmans and other Varnas and men in all the four Ashramas. Though the Pravritti Dharma is meant for worldly prosperity of the four Varnas and Ashramas, and though it can win heaven for them, still, when it is practised without an eye on the fruits thereof and solely as a dedication to God, it brings about the purification of the heart. A man with a purified heart being qualified for divine perception (Gnana) gets it and through that attains liberation." Thus it will be seen that this Pravritti Dharma, otherwise known as Karmakanda is a means of prosperity and when put into practice disinterestedly it is also a means of purifying the heart and preparing it for the

reception of wisdom or Gnana. Quack philosophers who are never tired of harping on the importance of Gnana only would do well to note that all talk about Gnana is meaningless as long as the mind has not reached a state of complete purity through disinterested action (निष्कामकर्म). Says Sri Krishna संन्यासस्तु महाबाहो दुःखमाप्तुमयोगतः। Renunciation (i.e., Gnana, ज्ञानं सन्यासलक्षणम्) is difficult of attainment without yoga i. e., Karma yoga, the Path of Action. In modern times Divine wisdom has become a cheap commodity. The ability to read a few works on Vedanta and a moderate power of understanding is all that is needed to purchase it. A gambler, a drunkard, a liar, a cheat, a thief, a hypocrite and a cut-throat can all attain wisdom without going through any particular training of the heart. Books are cheap, lectures are cheaper and the audience cheapest, why should we not then produce hosts of philosophers to be let loose on the world with their stump oratory. But it is a matter for regret that these philosophers have little personal experience of what they say. Philosophy with them is a matter of intellectual exercise which they can never dream of bringing into action. The ancient Hindu philosophers stood altogether on a different footing. They first experienced the Divine Light and then spoke about it to persons who were fit to receive it. In fact all their theories were verified by personal experience. They rejected all thoughts which had not even the remotest chance of being translated into action. It is no wonder then that their works are even to this day the marvel of the whole sensible world. Their methodical pursuits of rigid austerity and unalloyed purity led them to the perception of truth in its native splendours; but alas! where do we stand to-day!

The Brahman class which was once at the helm of Hindu Society and which enjoyed almost divine honours in this land, stands today humbled to dust. The ancient Brahmans commanded wide respect without demanding it as they firmly adhered to their post. They were the very personification of self-control, austerity, purity, forgiveness, straight-forwardness, knowledge, wisdom and unshakeable faith in God. What an ocean of difference between these great men and their descendants of to-day! We must, however, bear in mind that these men did not win their greatness in a day. They had to pass through many courses of spiritual exercises before they reached the goal and we have today to do the same thing, if we wish to gain the consummation of life. It is a matter of common knowledge that the modern Brahman has degenerated many ways. Physically as well as mentally he is feeble, morally though superior to foreigners, he is not up to the mark when compared with his forefathers. Even in respect of material prosperity he is lagging behind other communities. His intellect is still somewhat keen but that alone does not carry much importance. Salvation therefore, lies in treading the beaten path of the Rishis. Svadharma is the only liberator. The first step in it is Sandhya and the last is Brahmagnana; in other words the Sandhya represents the alphabets in the language of Hindu religion and without mastering the alphabets further progress must necessarily be impossible. Now the question arises as to why Sandhya Upasana should be performed in preference to other multifarious ways of worshipping the Almighty and the answer to this question is attempted in the succeeding articles.

(To be continued.)

Olla Podrida.

Mr. Justice Coleridge said recently that divorce cases are growing in numbers and that he has had to dispose of 1000 cases recently. Whom God had put together he has been sundering. But that is modern life. Are we not working for unity? We shall begin with domestic unity.

* * *

At a recent non-Brahmin marriage a non-brahmin priest officiated. But the most important news is that Reverend Swami Balasaraswathi was present at it and discoursed on the right of Sudras to study Vedas but he is only a *Bala* Saraswathi.

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